6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17

These twin religious powers of the great-commoners in relation to their chief (or of the nobles of Ngonde in relation to the Kyungu) were important for the balance of the constitution, for they provided a most effective check upon the actions of the chiefs. If a chief kept within the bounds of constitutional usage then any illness that he had would be attributed by the diviners to some such cause, as the infidelity of his wives or the breach of a taboo; but if he broke some constitutional usage then that would be taken to be the cause of his next illness; the great-commoners, it would be held, were angry and so had made him ill.

It is hardly necessary to stress the local and individual autonomy implicit in the faith in witchcraft. Not only were the great-commoners as a group believed to have an irresistible power through their witchcraft over their chief, but so were the great-commoner and the leading witches of every village believed to have an irresistible power over other individuals within that village. And in both cases their powers were strictly limited, save exceptionally, by the bounds of chiefdom or village. Moreover witches did not always act as a group, an individual witch might maliciously cause another individual to fall ill. In all this the political hierarchy was irrelevant. But it was not irrelevant in dealing with accusations of malicious witchcraft; there proof rested with the poison ordeal and a journey had to be made to a great chief or a leading noble.

4. *ECONOMIC ELEMENTS (MIDDLE PERIOD).*

We have suggested in the previous section that the traditional religious paramountcy of the Kyungu and his nobles of Ngonde was an important factor of their secular power. But comparison with the Nyakyusa shows us that their control of wealth was equally important. The religious paramountcy furnished a mould into which the stiffening stream of wealth could run and there be minted into the form of sovereignty. Much of the wealth which reached Mbande did not stay there; it was passed back piecemeal to the local rulers of Ngonde, stamped with the divine impress of the Kyungu.

(a) *THE INCOME OF MBANDE AND OTHER AUTHORITIES.*

Now the traditional income of Mbande consisted of ivory, food, labour, slaves and cattle. Of ivory the Kyungu had a semi-monopoly in the plain and received tribute from the territorial nobles in the hills. Food was brought to him by the chiefs and territorial nobles of the plain, who also, with their men, hoed his public gardens (*imilasa*). Slaves and cattle accrued to him from tribal wars and from his offending

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17

643 652 subjects. The great bulk of this income was employed for public purposes, but no exact line can be drawn between his public and his personal expenditure[1].

643 651 224 "The right tusk of an elephant was called the royal, the left the common tusk. All royal tusks were the Kyungu's but common tusks belonged to the hunter who killed the elephant. Whenever a hunter here in the Ngonde plain killed an elephant he would take the royal tusk to his own chief (or noble) who would then tell him to bear it to the lord of the country, and so he would take it to the Kyungu. But in the distant hills the local ruler[2] would keep the royal tusks and so cheat the Kyungu. He might come to visit him from time to time, bringing two or three tusks only; and in that case the Kyungu would not claim the others from him. If, however, the Kyungu had heard that many elephants had been killed in so and so's country, and if no subsequent visit had been made to him, he would get angry and send a messenger, and then the territorial noble would come in haste to visit him. But very many tusks they stole and never brought." Whether the commoner from the plain who brought the ivory to Mbande received a gift from the Kyungu in return we do not know; he was not conducted into the sacred enclosure, and he left the tusk with the nobles of Ngonde. But the distant territorial nobles who brought ivory were royally entertained, and even entered the presence of the Kyungu.

Now the sanction for bringing to Mbande the royal tusks of the plain was a moral one, arising from religious faith. It was believed that any huntsman in the plain who had killed an elephant and kept both tusks, instead of taking the right to his own chief or noble and thence on to Mbande, would never kill another; for the spirits of the dead Kyungus would be angry and frustrate his best efforts. It was believed that this would be so even though the living authorities at Mbande had been successfully hoodwinked; it was impossible to hoodwink the dead.

But in the distant hills the sanction was entirely different. The Kyungu and his ancestors were only local divinities, they were only believed to control the fate of the plain. In the hills what was feared was military force. If Nthalile or Mwenewenya refused to obey a summons to Mbande then the Kyungu would order his sons, the chiefs, to go and "burn him out" for insolence[3]. The sanction of force, however, was not the only reason for their acquiescence; it was profit-

[1] No such line can be drawn in England either. We distinguish the King's Civil List from the rest of the budget, but then the state which His Majesty keeps has a public significance.

[2] I.e. the territorial noble.

[3] *Vide infra* section 5 (a).

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17

643 The gardens of the Kyungu were divided traditionally into public
652 (*imilaza*) and private ones (*imigunda gya masano*). The produce of the first was mainly devoted to the entertainment of important guests—chiefs, territorial nobles and the ivory traders from over the lake. That of the second to the personal needs of the Kyungu and his household.
643 The public gardens were hoed and weeded by the great chiefs and the
651 nobles of the Ngonde plain with their subordinates and followers, the private ones by the nobles of Ngonde with theirs.

The hoeing of his public gardens by the chiefs and nobles of the plain was as intimately connected with the religious status of the Kyungu as was the bringing of royal tusks to him, for the belief in his rain-making powers provided a moral sanction for it. Drought and disease, as we have seen, were often attributed to the displeasure of the living Kyungu; and the failure of some ruler to bring his people to work the public gardens was, so we were told, the most usual way of displeasing him. The wealth and the divinity of the Kyungu were inextricably linked. Nor without these public gardens could the lucrative ivory trade have been maintained. In the primitive world of Ngonde there were no "purely business relations;" tributaries and buyers alike had to be royally feasted.

643 In the hoeing of the public gardens the political hierarchy of
651 Ngonde was made evident, for each great chief came separately to hoe,
565 accompanied both by the local chiefs of his own house and by those
622 territorial nobles who lived near him. At an appropriate time either the great chief or one of his noble neighbours would suggest going to Mbande to hoe, and the former would then summon all his local chiefs. But he could not summon the nobles; with them it was a polite arrangement between equals. "When they went to hoe for the Kyungu it might be a neighbouring noble and not the great chief at all who made the first suggestion; and then the two of them would go together with their followers. For the nobles are not subjects of the great chiefs but only of the Kyungu."

651 The main crop grown in the public gardens was millet (*amalesi*) for
241 beer. And at some time during the year all the chiefs and nobles[1] who
476 had brought men to hoe[2] them were summoned to taste "the beer of
273 the *mulasa*." So we see that, in one aspect, the hoeing of the public gardens of the Kyungu was but an extension on a large scale of the

[1] It is clear from our notes that each chief and noble brought to this beer-drink some of his people; but it is not clear whether he brought all those who had worked or only the more important among them.

[2] I speak of "hoeing" and "men." It is fairly certain that the women also came to weed afterwards and that they participated in the beer. We omitted, however, to find this out.

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17

ordinary custom of hoeing parties which is still followed by every chief and commoner in this whole area. Every man, two or three times a year, invites his neighbours to hoe for him and rewards them with a beer-drink in the evening. Where the hoeing of the Kyungu's public gardens differed from this custom was in the religious sanction behind it and in its political organization.

After the local chiefs had finished the *mulasa* for the Kyungu they would next return and hoe a small garden for their great chief who had led them to Mbande. But in this the territorial nobles took no part. Such gardens were not called *milasa* and there was no distinction made between them and the great chief's private ones. For this custom also there was a moral sanction; for the great chiefs, we remember, also participated in divinity. "If his people forgot to hoe for Mwakasungula then perhaps a little local epidemic of some kind would break out and the diviners, when questioned, would attribute it to their forgetfulness. Or perhaps a prophetic fit would fall on some one and he would tell them to go and hoe (or they would rue it!)"

And, still lower in the hierarchy, among a group of chiefs who were half-brothers, the senior chief used sometimes to summon his juniors to bring their men and hoe; but "their acquiescence depended on their friendship for him"; it seems to have had no effective moral sanction.

The private gardens of the Kyungu were traditionally very small indeed, for the constant income of food from the plain made them all but unnecessary. Such as they were, they were worked by the people of Mbande, i.e. the nobles of Ngonde and their followers. The wives of the Kyungu lived like ladies and had all the normal work of a woman, including weeding, done for them.

The income of the Kyungu in slaves and cattle cannot be understood save in the context of judicial procedure and warfare with which we have not yet dealt[1].

The income of Mbande reached others besides the Kyungu and his wives. We have already seen how the nobles of Ngonde took their share of the food which was brought in; and some of it they gave to their messengers, the *walukuta*. Neither the nobles of Ngonde nor the messengers, according to the present Kyungu, used to have any large gardens of their own; they also were maintained at the public expense. And the nobles of Ngonde shared also in the proceeds of the ivory.

With the exception of a pile of tusks upon which the Kyungu slept, most of the ivory which reached Mbande, from the time of Mwangonde

[1] *Vide infra* sections 5 and 6.

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17

so the increment that accrued to them was also greater than usual. And thus they normally had more cattle than ordinary men.

Some of these extra cattle they expended in marrying more wives of their own, who bore them more children. The girl children later brought in more marriage-cattle, and meanwhile the wives and unmarried children worked in the fields and so enabled the rulers to entertain more often and more lavishly than their less married subjects. And it was by lavish entertainment above all that the prestige of a ruler was maintained.

(b) *THE EXPENDITURE OF MBANDE AND OTHER AUTHORITIES.*

All important guests at Mbande, whether traders or subordinates, were, as we have seen, entertained at the Kyungu's expense. Now the entertainment of guests and subordinates is a quite indispensable function of every primitive political authority; power and prestige cannot possibly be maintained without it. Its importance in primitive constitutions has recently been pointed out by Richards in a paper[1] on the constitution of the Bemba tribe in Northern Rhodesia; and the facts of Ngonde tradition bear out her conclusions. Chiefs and nobles were given food and beer when they visited Mbande and the position of Mbande could not otherwise have been maintained. And the Kyungu, like the Citimukulu of the Bemba, also gave to his subordinates gifts of more permanent value.

Cloths were given both to chiefs and nobles. We remember that the very first Kyungu at Mbande is said to "have given headcloths to the indigenous rulers" who, in accepting them, accepted also his overlordship; and from that time onwards the practice continued. Whenever a territorial noble died the nobles of Ngonde came from the Kyungu and formally presented his successor with a dark headcloth, which he then wore turban-fashion as a symbol of his status. And other gifts of cloths were made to them also, from time to time. The nobles of Ngonde likewise were formally presented with dark headcloths on succession and, as we have seen, got gifts of cloth each time the traders came.

And the custom grew up in the middle period of giving cloths to the chiefs also, the sons of the Kyungu. When the chiefs heard that the Kyungu had been buying cloths they used to come, each alone with one man, and be given some. Our evidence does not make clear whether

[1] Audrey Richards "Tribal Government in Transition." Supplement to *J.R.A.I.* Oct. 1935.

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17

652 431 this was done by all chiefs or only by the great chiefs; but it is certain that the great chiefs possessed more of these cloths than their juniors.

652 431 784 But perhaps the most important traditional use of cloth by the Kyungus was for funeral gifts.[1] The social significance of funeral ceremonial in Ngonde and among the Nyakyusa is hard to exaggerate;[2] for both the economic and the emotional aspects not only of kinship but also of village and political relationships are given formal expression most frequently at funerals. And a gift at a funeral carries greater weight than one on any other occasion.

652 431 567 583 Then, again, chiefs and nobles who brought food to Mbande were often given either a beast or a woman slave in return. "When one of the chiefs had caught a great many fish . . . . . he would gather his men and go to Mbande . . . . . Then the Kyungu would tell one of the nobles of Ngonde to go and fetch a beast or, if no beast were available—and cattle were scarce in the old days—he would give him a woman. And if the chief liked her he would take her in marriage and she would become his lady,[3] but if he did not, then he would take her to his own country and sell her there for a cow." (We expressed some surprise at the rate of exchange.) "Yes, truly, for one cow only, cows were very scarce in those days." And sometimes, in order to make sure he would like her, the visiting chief would be allowed to choose his own girl. "When one of his sons came to visit him the Kyungu would sometimes give orders that he should be shown all the (slave) girls and choose the one he liked best; and so the chief would choose a local girl[4] and marry her. And he could never then sell her, once he had chosen her in love."

Now the gift of a woman slave had many social implications. If she was taken to wife the recipient regarded the Kyungu thereafter as his father-in-law, as well as his "father." She herself became free and her children spoke of the Kyungu as their grandfather. And these gifts did more than any others to strengthen the bonds of kinship between the Kyungu and his subordinate chiefs.

652 431 To his common subjects also, if they had deserved well of him, the Kyungu would occasionally give either cloths or a woman or a cow; and the great chiefs of Ngonde likewise and even ordinary chiefs and nobles did the same. And these subordinate authorities, as we have seen, also used to entertain their own subjects generously with food

[1] *Vide infra* section 7.

[2] Cf. Wilson, "Nyakyusa Conventions of Burial." *Bantu Studies*, March 1939.

[3] I use "lady" here to translate "*mambo*" which is the title of honour used for a chief's wife; the implication is that she then ceased to be a slave.

[4] Slaves were of two kinds, the relatives of criminals and war captives (*vide infra* sections 5 and 6). It was apparently customary to choose one of the first kind on such occasions.

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17

and beer: their position depended upon doing so. Up and down the hierarchy the stream of wealth travelled and this stream, in its ebb and flow, was the lifeblood of the old constitution.

(c) *THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE IVORY TRADE.*

Now it was the scarce and valuable cloths derived from the ivory trade which enabled Mbande to bind the subordinate chiefs and nobles to it in secular matters. Lubaga, lacking this wealth, had no such secular power. But it is very easy to exaggerate the secular power which Mbande had. Personal loyalty to the Kyungu and the great chiefs was enforced throughout Ngonde,[1] the nobles of Ngonde participated in the selection of territorial nobles and great chiefs,[2] tribal war was organized from Mbande,[3] but that was all. In everyday life the sovereignty of the local rulers was scarcely limited. Civil war was endemic in Ngonde,[4] and secular justice had no central organization[5].

The central power of Mbande rested on the combination of divine kingship with wealth derived from the ivory-trade. But both in religious and economic matters there was a very high degree of local autonomy. We have already discussed the local autonomy in religion[6] and must now discuss it in the economic sphere.

The economic relations of men in the middle period of Ngonde's history were largely confined to the little local groups of chiefdom and fief. Subsistence agriculture was practised by each family, with the assistance of village neighbours and of a few friends and relatives who normally lived in the same chiefdom or fief. Marriage, with all the exchanges of cattle and food which marriage involved, was usually a local matter also; men only occasionally went beyond the chiefdom or the fief for their wives; while of the few specialised craftmen, such as smiths, a representative was usually to be found in each such local group. Economic links between the local groups existed: men moved from one chiefdom or fief to another leaving relatives behind, some marriages took place across the local boundaries, famous craftmen or doctors attracted clients from far afield. But these links were far fewer in number than those which obtained between the members of each separate local group.

And the ivory trade added little to the economic links between the local groups. It involved no tribal organization of elephant hunts, or anything of the kind; it touched the common people only slightly. Commoners and chiefs however did occasionally exchange tusks either

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[1] *Vide infra* 5 (a)
[2] *Vide infra* 5 (b)
[3] *Vide infra* 6 (b)
[4] *Vide infra* 6 (a)
[5] *Vide infra* 5 (c)
[6] *Vide supra* 3

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17

439 direct with the ivory traders or with the Kyungu, for cloths or cattle or slaves. And groups of chiefdoms and fiefs co-operated in hoeing the *milasa*.

Nor did the ivory trade enter very deeply into the economic relations of [291] the local rulers with their subjects. The common people usually dressed in exiguous pieces of bark cloth or of a coarse cloth which they manufactured themselves from a kind of cotton; the scarce imported cloths, which came through Mbande, were normally used by chiefs and nobles only. They added to the prestige of the chiefs and nobles by linking them visibly with the opulence of Mbande, but did not much increase their own subjects' economic dependence on them. Though here again we must note the occasional exchanges of ivory and other wealth between [652] commoners and chiefs or nobles. The important economic links between local rulers and their subjects were determined, on the one hand, by the differential bride-price, by polygyny and by their power of requisitioning food, and, on the other hand, by their position as chief hosts to their people.

The ivory-trade, in fact, enabled Mbande to bind the local rulers to it in a kind of permanent hierarchical alliance, but neither the constitution of the local groups nor their autonomy in relation to one another was very much affected thereby.

5. *LEGAL ELEMENTS (MIDDLE PERIOD).*

000 We now come to a third element of the central power of Mbande, the traditional part which it played in the maintenance of law. We will take this topic in two parts: first, the ways in which Mbande maintained its own authority and that of its subordinates, and, second, the part played by Mbande and those lesser authorities in maintaining the common law of Ngonde.

(a). *CONSTITUTIONAL LAW: TREASON ETC.*

687 Treason against the Kyungu was summarily punished with little or
567 no legal argument. The commonest form of treason seems to have been too near an approach to one of his wives. We remember that his wives were very closely guarded from all men, for their adultery might magically bring sickness on him, and if he fell ill then the whole land was magically endangered. One side of the hill Mbande is precipitous, and over this cliff (*Ipunga*) all traitors were thrown, including such as had looked on his wives naked; while many members of the traitors' families were subsequently enslaved.

"If a man had looked on the wives of the Kyungu bathing, he himself would be killed by being thrown over the cliff and all his

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17

is generally admitted that all chiefs are less affected by this fear than they used to be. The secularization of the constitution tends, in this connection, to make it more autocratic.

On the economic side it is difficult to exaggerate the change in the relative wealth of rulers and people. The change is temporarily obscured by the historical accident of the present Kyungu's personal fortune, but this, when he dies, will go to this own heir, not to his successor in the Kyungushíp. The Kyungu's total official salary in 1937 was £72 a year and those of the " Sub-chiefs " varied from about £4 10s. to £12 a year. The nobles of Ngonde all received either 10s. or 15s. a year, with the exception of Mulwa who received 30s. These salaries, which are paid out of the Native Treasurery, are the modern substitute for the profits of the ivory-trade, which the Kyungu shared with his subordinates, together with the regular tribute of food and the proceeds of tribal warfare and of punitive expeditions, all of which sources of income have now dried up. And these salaries do not make possible the giving of any valuable gifts to subordinates and subjects. The local rulers also receive slight financial subsidies from the Native Treasury. Each " Village Headman " is allowed to retain 3d. from the tax of every adult male subject of his own and the " Important Headmen " (great chiefs) receive in addition subsidies ranging from 5s. to 40s. a year. This custom has replaced that of the requisitioning of food ; but, owing to the smallness of all the present chiefdoms and fiefs of the plain, few " Village Headmen " receive more than £1 a year from this source.[1]

It is open to commoners, on the other hand, to become as rich or richer than most of their rulers. The head clerk in the Boma in 1937 received £52 a year, and there were fifty-three other Government employees who all received £12 or over ; Native Christian Ministers and Evangelists all received many times the salary of Mulwa while young men often returned from the Lupa gold-fields with savings of several pounds.

The decline of polygyny in Ngonde again reduces the relative wealth of the subordinate chiefs and nobles in comparison with their people. Women are increasingly reluctant, for various reasons, to be married by polygynists, and the old style of entertainment is changing. Few chiefs and nobles, save the present Kyungu himself, now have sufficient wives and unmarried children to be able to entertain on a large scale. In the case of ordinary chiefs and territorial nobles (the " Village Headmen " of to-day) this poverty is not in itself very significant, for with the dwindling

[1] The average receipts of the one hundred and twenty-four " Village Headmen " in the Ngonde plain were almost exactly 10/- per annum in 1936. They had, that is, an average of forty tax-payers each.

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17

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The present Kyungu has gardens hoed for him like his predecessors, and these gardens are still called *milasa ;* but the subtraction of the religious element from this custom has radically altered both its form and its significance. Of old the *milasa* were hoed by the great chiefs and their people because they wanted rain, to-day they go on hoeing them because the Kyungu gives them cattle ; of old they came of themselves fearing drought, to-day they come because he summons them ; of old the produce of the *milasa* was mostly used for the entertainment of guests from a distance, to-day the produce is mostly turned into cash and used in other ways for the maintenance of the Kyungu's position in his own immediate district. But still, as of old, the custom brings him honour.

The late Kyungu, Mwangalaba, is said to have refused to accept this traditional service in the third year of his reign (1907), and certainly for twenty years afterwards no *milasa* were hoed. Mwangalaba is said to have been a timid man, but it is also possible that he was forced to realize that the mere hope of rain would not be sufficient to maintain the custom much longer in the new economic and religious conditions ; he may have preferred to refuse his people's services rather than see them gradually refused to him. For he had nothing but the hope of rain to offer them ; he was a poor man ; he had neither the ivory of his predecessors nor the private fortune of his successor.

But in 1927 when Peter became Regent, the custom was revived on a new basis. The initiative apparently came from the great chiefs, six of whom in that year led their people to hoe *milasa* for Peter,[1] who, as soon as the hoeing was over, gave each of them a cow. Such a return gift was quite unprecedented. And now every year he sends a message to the three or four senior great chiefs, which they pass on to the others, telling them to come and hoe. One or two beasts are always given to each one who comes. In the first half of 1937 three great chiefs had brought their people to hoe *milasa* and to the two who had finished he had given respectively two bulls and a cow and a bull.

The bulk of the produce of the *milasa* he now sells to his people, by the basket, for money, using the money so obtained firstly to buy cattle to replace the ones given to the chiefs and secondly to buy cloths for funeral gifts. The figures which he gave us himself for the year 1927 showed that he was able in that year to replace the cattle expended and in addition to buy £3 or £4 worth of cloths, enough for about a dozen funerals.[2] The custom has become a mildy profitable business enterprise for the Kyungu.

[1] But no such gardens, I think, are now hoed for the great chiefs themselves. Our evidence is here incomplete.

[2] Expenditure on cattle for chiefs = £11 or £12. Proceeds of sale of *milasa* crop = £15. Profit spent on cloths = £3 or £4.

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17

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But it is more than that, for its maintainance establishes a certain continuity of sentiment between present and past. By hoeing the Kyungu's *milasa* the people of Ngonde no longer do worship to an irascible divinity, but they still do honour to their greatest chief. "Where are our manners? Where is our respect?" asked the chief who, in 1927, took the initiative in hoeing Peter's *milasa*. "It seems almost as if they have died in us." And it is worth noting that the one who said this was Kajuni, a chief of Ngana.

Those who have read Richards on the Bemba constitution[1] will wonder how Peter manges at the same time to sell the produce of his *milasa* and also to provide the necessary entertainment for his leading men. The answer is twofold. Distances in Ngonde, in the first place are far shorter than among the Bemba, and the members of Peter's court can attend it regularly while sleeping and eating at home. The main traditional use of the *milasa* in Ngonde was to provide for the distant nobles who brought ivory and for the ivory traders themselves; but nowadays distant guests are rare. Nevertheless his subordinates and leading men are sometimes entertained lavishly by him, and his prestige in part depends upon this. Whether the necessary food and beer is actually taken from the *milasa* or from his private gardens I do not know, but the fact is unimportant as his private gardens are now big enough to provide the necessary surplus by themselves. For he is, in the second place, the possessor of about ten able-bodied wives who, no longer jealously secluded, work in his fields with their children; and he also hires labour to help them, paying for it out of his private fortune.

The nobles of Ngonde only rarely nowadays bring their people to hoe, for their relationship with the Kyungu is less profitable to them than it was in the days of the ivory trade, and the old organization of Mbande has decayed. With the removal of Peter to Bwiba the nobles of Ngonde and their followers began to scatter; only six of them now live at Mbande, with a mere handful of commoners. The other six are dispersed over the Ngonde plain, and only one of them[2] has any considerable personal following.

The requisitioning of food by the Kyungu and the local rulers has now almost ceased, for various reasons. Food can now be turned into cash by sale; and so men are far more reluctant to give their surplus to their rulers than before. Moreover I think that Government has disallowed the custom.[3]

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[1] *Op. cit.*
[2] Ngosi, who ranks as a "Headman" with a few subjects of his own.
[3] We did not investigate this point in Ngonde, but among the Nyakyusa it is certainly so.

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

for the local investment of savings are the most important economic undertaking in the District. The seven coffee co-operatives handled a crop of 950 tons in 1955, worth about £427,500, and are organized so efficiently as to be able to return over 90 per cent of the price of the coffee on Moshi market to the producer, after the heavy transport costs (14 per cent) have been paid. One Government-paid officer assists these societies.

In the educational and recreational field also, associations are emerging: football clubs; companies of Scouts and Guides; 'Welfare Centres' with classes in reading for adult illiterates, indoor games, and Saturday-night dances; Women's Clubs for handwork and recreation; and in Tukuyu itself an inter-racial club with its own premises, whose members meet to play games, and get to know one another and discuss common problems. These associations make a visible mark on the face of the country in the shape of new brick Churches, co-operative stores, football fields, and, more rarely, a village club-house.

The change from a subsistence to a money economy, and from a system of government through chiefs and village headmen who were dependent primarily on inherited wealth, which secured to them the labour of many able-bodied wives and sons, to a system of government through European officials, chiefs, and clerks paid out of taxes, and assisted by unpaid village headmen, implies the collection and administration of taxes. The District Council has the responsibility for the budgeting and expenditure of over £60,000 per annum. The greater part of it is spent on the salaries of chiefs, secretaries, and clerks engaged in administration, on courts, on schools, dispensaries, and roads. The development of associations with paid officers also implies the collection of dues and budgeting. As in so many countries the difficulty of building up a tradition of honesty in administration is great. Tax clerks, court clerks, council secretaries, and co-operative society secretaries, and even church elders handle sums of money relatively large in proportion to their earnings and one of the tasks of European officials and missionaries is to secure a sound system of accounting and check corruption. In the traditional society stock theft was a capital offence, but money has not the sanctity of cattle, and often the clerk who has appropriated public funds is treated by others as 'unfortunate' rather than immoral. At the same time villagers show great anxiety lest a man entrusted with some common fund should spend it for himself. The risk of theft